for her own industry the Russian custom frontier gave her insufficient protection; on the contrary, it rather reserved the Ukrainian market to Moscow and Warsaw. 369 241

Consequently the industrial development of the Ukraine was very slow. The agricultural population did not find enough work in the towns, and, as a result, the surplus of agrarian population increased every year. In some parts of the Ukraine this surplus population was more serious than in any other part of former Russia. In the central Ukrainian provinces the agrarian population reached 800 to 1,000 inhabitants per 1,000 hektares of arable land, while in France and Germany the average was about 500 inhabitants. There was nothing left for the Ukrainian population but to emigrate and colonize the lands of Siberia and of Central Asia. There was also a rather considerable movement of emigration towards America. The most fertile governments of the Ukraine furnished many more emigrants than the less fertile but more industrial regions of central Russia. 369 241 162 [67]

Emigration as a Possible Solution

As a consolation, it is pointed out that, in case of the reunion of the Ukraine with Russia, the Ukraine will have in Siberia a field for emigration all ready. But that is very poor consolation. Can emigration satisfy any country? Are the Italians proud of sending many emigrants to America? Did the Germans have cause to feel flattered by increasing the trans-Atlantic emigration, before they developed their own industries? 000

Why, then, should it be the lot of the Ukraine to let her population emigrate to distant Siberia?

Why can she not develop her economic life in such a manner that all her people shall have work on their own soil? The Ukraine ought not to remain an outlet for the industrial work of the Russians and Poles when her own people cannot find any work at home.

But one might ask why no complaint has been heard up to the present, either from the Ukrainians engaged in industry or from those engaged in agriculture? Why did

161 natural increase in the Ukrainian parts of the Soviet Union. The USSR not having issued any statistics. It seems, however, that population was reduced by increased mortality.

161 The steady flow of emigration diminished the actual in-
166 crease of the Ukrainian people. West Ukrainians go to the United States and Canada, the inhabitants of the Dnipro area to the Caucasus and Asia. Movements within the frontiers shift the population slowly to the east and south, these movements being strongest towards the Basin of the Donets and the North Caucasus, and weakest towards the areas on the right banks of the Dnipro and Galicia. There is also a steady flight from the country to the town. In consequence to an increase of the collective system, of famine and flight to the town, the population of the USSR did not grow since 1932; increase of population in the towns was opposed by considerable decrease in the country.

c) National Conditions

182 National conditions in the Ukrainian territory at present have been produced by long and complicated processes which Ukraine was forced to undergo by factors such as her geographical position, the extent of her territory, movements of colonisation, natural increase, migration, lack of an independent government, etc.

In consequence, the national composition of Ukrainian areas is characterised by peculiar features, such as a mixture of nationalities in many provinces, a fairly high percentage of national minorities, a considerable difference from the ethnological point of view between the populations of town and village, and so on.

● 167 We find different national conditions in the different frontier districts. In the West, the Ukrainian factor receded; the frontier between Ukraine and Poland was regulated in favor of the latter and, what was more important, the entire region of the frontier was settled by Poles who had been pressing east from time immemorial, in the search for better opportunities for their surplus population. The Polish immigration in these districts is

best demonstrated by the fact that there are scarcely 100 000 Ukrainians living west of the ethnographical frontier between Ukraine and Poland, while 2.5 million Poles are to be found east of the same line. (All statistics from the end of 1932). 167

The area of the eastern frontier is different; due to pressure from Ukrainian colonisation movements, many Ukrainian "islands" appear on the eastern frontier and occur repeatedly right to the Pacific Coast. Some districts were colonised by Ukrainians and Russians in common, which explains the mixed character of the population of the foothills of the Eastern Caucasus and the Crimea.

If we consider the Ukrainian national territory as a whole, within its narrower and wider boundaries, we find a large percentage of foreigners — 25 % within the narrower and up to 30 % within the wider frontiers —, although Ukrainian territory never goes beyond its ethnographical frontiers and although these national minorities are not concentrated in a few places but are scattered throughout the territory. No other extensive ethnographical unit in Europe has so many national minorities as Ukraine. The history of the Ukrainian territory is to blame for this handicap. It was repeatedly swamped by foreign peoples, the upper classes were robbed of their original nationality and in recent times Ukrainians settled unwillingly and in small numbers in towns. 162 167

Another characteristic of Ukrainian ethnographical territory is the great diversity in the national composition of the rural and urban population. The village is purely Ukrainian, the town mixed, often indeed of alien population. The lack of an independent political status and the reluctance of the Ukrainian peasantry to settle in towns opened the way for immigration from abroad, which in turn, helped to erase the national character of urban life; in addition, there are more Jews in the towns of Ukraine than in those of other European states. Thus the towns in the west of Ukraine are Ukrainian-Jewish-Polish, those on the Right Bank on the other hand are Ukrainian-Jewish-Russian while those on the Left Bank are Ukrainian-Russian. The following table shows the different national composition of

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

162 rural and urban population. Out of every 1000 persons in Ukraine there are

● 167

	Ukrainians	Russians	Jews	Poles	Germans	Others
Town population	388	281	216	69	8	38
Rural population	767	121	18	50	14	30

The Ukrainians are unequally distributed over their ethnographical area. That part of Ukraine that was longest settled and that is most centrally situated is ethnographically purely Ukrainian, the national minorities amounting to less than 10 % of the population. This central area is a quadrangle with unequal sides, reaching in the west to the line Mohyliv-Berdychiv -Kyiv, in the east to Myropil on the line Sumy-Charkiv-Hrishyne, in the north to the White Ruthenian frontier and in the south across the steppe to the line Balta-Pershomajske-Zaporizha-Hrishyne. The Right Bank area is the most exclusively Ukrainian national territory. The population of the wide plains of this area is up to 99 % Ukrainian.

In frontier districts and also in the many mixed areas there is a large percentage of non-Ukrainians. In Galicia, the Kholm district, Podlakhia, Bucovina, Bessarabia, Slobodian Ukraine and in the areas of the Donets and the Kuban, non-Ukrainians amount to 1/3 and more of the population.

In the steppe zone, too, there is a high percentage of national minorities, a result of the rapid colonisation of the steppe at the end of the 18th century. There were not sufficient Ukrainians to colonise the vast steppes, so the gaps were filled up by people of the most varied nationality — Ukrainians and Russians, many Germans as good farmers, and emigrants from the Balkans — Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks and Moldavians. National minorities are scattered here and represent 34 % of the population as against 66 % Ukrainians, so that the latter are everywhere in the majority. We find here 14.3 % Russians, 7.1 % Jews, 4.4 % Roumanians, 4.7 % Germans, 1.3 % Greeks, 1.6 % Bulgarians and 1.6 % others. The Ukrainians exceed even the largest group, the Russians, for there are 4 1/2 Ukrainians for every Russian, and in the country even 7½.

Besides Ukrainians, the area that is ethnographically and nationally Ukrainian counts among its population Russians, Jews, Poles, Germans. The Russians, according to statistics for 1. 1. 1933, amount to 8 million and live in Slobodian Ukraine, the Donets Basin (foreign labor immigration), the coastal areas (agricultural colonies) and, alongside of Ukrainians, in the eastern foothills of the Caucasus. Jews — 3 millions — $^2/_3$ of them in towns, live west of the Dnipro (the boundary of their former settlement under the Tsars), and from 2-3 % of the population of Left Bank Ukraine and less than 1 % in Slobodian Ukraine and the Caucasus. Poles numbering 2 800 000 live in districts that were formerly part of Poland, mainly on the "black earth" belt of Galicia and the Kholm district. The other national minorities are insignificant. 162 167

If we study the development of national minorities up to the time of enforced collectivisation, we notice that the Ukrainian element in Dnipro-Ukraine was strengthened, while it receded in Western Ukraine under pressure from the Poles. We cannot tell what changes have taken place in the national element of Soviet Ukraine in recent years, as the results of the last census, held in 1939, have not been published. We can only suppose that Ukrainian national substance has suffered severe losses from the enforced collectivisation, the eviction of Ukrainian peasants, famine, and Russian immigration, especially to the towns and the Donets Basin.

d) Ukrainians outside the boundaries of the ethnographical territory

6 millions, i. e. 13.5 % of the Ukrainian people live without its national territory, 700 000 in islands dispersed throughout neighboring western countries, above all in Batshka while others live as emigrants or laborers, especially in Germany and France. In 1933, there were 300 000 in Roumania, 100 000 in Poland, 40 000 in Czechoslovakia, 50 000 in Jugoslavia and 160 000 in other countries of Europe. 3 % of the Ukrainians — 1.3 millions — are scattered throughout the Soviet Union in Europe; the majority of these live in the lower reaches of the Volga (450 000), the middle reaches of the Volga (220 000), in the republic of 161 167

161 Bashkir (80 000) and the Ural area (50 000). Besides, Ukrainians
167 have been actively colonising Asia, their superiority in numbers as compared with the Russians may be seen in the appended table (statistics from 1926).

Asia	Surface in sqm.	Population in 1000	Ukr.	Russ.	Kas.-Sib.	Others
Kasak in Siberia	174 075	2 240	40	22	27	11
Grey Wedge	12 308	17	29	19	44	8
Green Wedge						
1) Rayon Spask	26 928	232	59	22	—	19
2) Blahovischensk	3 846	86	50	43	—	7

The "Grey wedge" lies between the Khirgisi country and Kasakstan, the "Green wedge" on the Amur and near Spask.

1.3 million Ukrainians live in America (U.S.A. 7—8 000 000, Canada 3-400 000, South America 130 000).

e) Ukrainians in the world

At the end of 1932 there were 43-44 million Ukrainians; as far as numbers go, they are the second of the Slav peoples, and the seventh among European nations. The number of Ukrainians living in the different states towards the end of the years 1938 and 1940 was:

States	Ukrainians in millions [1]	Percentage of Ukrainians in the world
a) 1938		
Soviet-Union	34.4	79.1
Poland	6.0	13.8
Roumania	1.1	2.5
U.S.A.	0.7	1.6
Czechoslovakia	0.6	1.4
Canada	0.3	0.7
And others	0.4	0.9

[1]) Among these 25.6 millions in Soviet-Ukraine.

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

States	Ukrainians in millions	Percentage of Ukrainians in the world
b) 1940	[2]	
Soviet-Union	40.2	92.4
Germany	0.8	1.8
Hungary	0.6	1.4
U.S.A.	0.7	1.6
Canada	0.3	0.7
And others	0.9	2.1
Total	43.5	100

161
167 ●

[2] Among these 30.7 millions in Soviet-Ukraine.

ment has been slower and they have not yet reached the same degree of intensity of labor which we found in factories. Jews play a great part in commercial life.

Among the lower categories of civil servants, Ukrainians were in the majority from the beginning, while representatives of foreign nationalities increased in the higher services. The average salary of Soviet officials throws little light on the standard of living in this group of the population because the difference between higher and lower employees is again considerable. Incomes in the lower ranks were very small while the higher officials had a life of ease and could on occasion even afford luxury. Engineers are among the most privileged while teachers and actors are much worse off. The legal status of the Soviet official was entirely insecure; they lived constantly under threat of a "purge" or of being denounced as disturbing the process of Soviet economy. The higher ranks of bureaucrats were here in special danger.

The small group of the professional class (doctors, writers, lawyers), in spite of their freedom, was dependent on the apparatus of the Soviet State. The group of outcasts was most to be pitied, i. e. those who had been expelled by the regime from social intercourse, e. g. merchants, artisans, and priests. After identity cards were introduced and "socially dangerous" persons removed, this group greatly decreased.

Another group, finally, is formed by Ukrainians living outside the frontiers of Ukrainian territory, who as "Kurkuls", "Pests", "Saboteurs" were sent to concentration camps in the North and in Siberia. The "Nationalists" are also included in this group. And the colonisation of remote frontier areas in Soviet Russia required forest laborers, miners and factory workers, who had to help in the coal mines of Siberia and in building up industrial concerns in Central Asia. It is impossible to give statistics for the proportion of Ukrainians in this group, but they cannot be ignored as they will certainly return home and play an important rôle in Ukraine whenever the general situation is altered.

In Ukrainian areas outside of the Soviet Union, conditions resemble those obtaining in Western Europe. The Ukrainian

area in Poland showed the greatest variations, it having an urban population of 19 % in 1931; in the Lviv area of administration this rose to 30 % and sank to 12 % in Volynia. The urban population was composed of the following nationalities: Ukrainians 22.9 %, Poles 36.6 %, Jews 38.3 %. The figures for the rural population, on the other hand, were: Ukrainians 71.4 %, Poles 23 %, Jews 3.8 %, others 1.8 %. 74.9 % were employed in agriculture, 10.2 % in factories and mines, 7.4 % in business and transportation, 7.5 % in other callings. In areas previously belonging to Russia, the number of those engaged in agriculture rose to 80 % and in the administration of Lviv and Stanislaviv it only amounted to 65.5 % and 74.8 % respectively. 162 167

An excess rural population was characteristic of Polish parts of Ukraine, being particularly marked in provinces formerly Austrian. The agricultural area was divided into 52.4 % small holdings (up to 50 ha), 28.8 % large estates and 18.8 % state property. But in reality 84.3 % of the agricultural land was in small holdings as the large estates and the state property mostly consisted of forest land. In Galicia there were crofts (up to 5 ha) which could neither employ nor feed a large family. The medium-sized (5-20 ha) and larger farms (20-50 ha) did not represent even the half of all agricultural enterprises. Ukrainians were practically not represented at all in larger estates, so that the standard of living among the Ukrainian population was very low; the cooperative system which was widely spread, especially in Galicia, did something to raise the average standard.

The Ukrainian urban population was represented mainly by the lower middle-classes. In recent times efforts have been made to improve conditions for Ukrainian businessmen and to build new workshops for individual workers. These efforts soon met with success, in spite of Polish and Jewish competition.

Social conditions were different in Bucovina and Bessarabia. Though land there has been parcelled into tiny holdings and has consequently produced a social situation similar to that in Galicia, the conditions under which the Ukrainian peasant lived in Bessarabia were stable and more favorable. Jews formed a

162 proportion of the population of the little towns, the Ukrainian
● 167 intelligentsia being but weakly represented.

The population of those parts of Ukrainian territory that are in Czechoslovakia, is also mostly engaged in agriculture which accounts for 81.8 %, mining industry for 6.4 %, trade and transportation for 2.7 % and other professions for 9.1 %. In the main, Ukrainians live in the country; the less important cities and towns have a very mixed population, in which Ukrainians form the majority in only a few cases. The standards of living and material security are precarious, lower perhaps than in any other part of Ukrainian territory.

The History of Ukraine

175 The two prime formative influences on the growth of the
● 167 Ukrainian people are the struggle for the steppe and the drive for expansion southwards; there never was any migratory movement towards Central Europe. All the strenght of the Ukrainian people was absorbed by the struggle in the steppe with an opponent who commanded respect and whose riding tactics were certainly superior to those of European armies of knights, by battles in an area devoid of natural and artificial obstacles, by the necessity of moving repeatedly into the plains of Polesya and Volynia with their great forests and many rivers and lakes whenever the mounted hosts from the east swept over the steppe. It was only at the end of the eighteenth and in the course of the nineteenth century that the steppe was finally subdued, the shores of the Black Sea reached and the eastern frontier pushed far ahead. The expansion of the territory settled on by the Ukrainians which is three times as great as 200 years ago, took place solely at the expense of nomadic peoples. It were the colonial acquisitions of the nineteenth century which brought the Ukrainian people within the orbit of Europe.

This strengthening of the Ukrainian people at its circumference was detrimental to intensive development within the state. Insets of alien nationalities remained on Ukrainian territory, above all in the towns, where trade and industry fell into the hands of foreigners. Partitioned among four states as it was after World War I, and now completely dependent on a rigidly centralised Great Power, the Ukrainian people has not yet evolved a political form of its own. Its future as a state still lies ahead.

175 Ukrainian history may be divided into the following periods:

1) the political supremacy of Kyiv up to 1154
2) the supremacy of the Galician-Volynian state from 1154-1340
3) the Lithuanian-Polish period, 1340-1648
   a) the Lithuanian 1340-1569
   b) the Polish 1569-1648
4) the Cossack State 1648-1782
5) the Russo-Austrian period 1792 (1772)-1918

175 In order to consolidate her power in Ukraine, Russia gave the Right Bank of the Dnipro back to Poland. But the Polish Republic of nobles was not able to assert itself against the Zaporog Fastness and its guerilla warfare (Haydamak movement). At times (1743, 1750, 1768) all Ukraine rose in rebellion. It was only after the destruction of the Zaporog Fastness that the country became quiet and complete order was re-established only after the Second Partition of Poland when the Right Bank Area of Ukraine was given to Russia. In the Carpathians there were also risings, the rebels being called „Opryshki" there. More important, however, is the colonisation which took place here in the 18th century. At that time Ukrainian settlements reached the river Tisa.

The eastern areas of Ukraine, the so-called Slobodian Ukraine, were quietest in these troublous times. Here the war-weary people of the western districts found refuge and peaceful work. It is true that the country belonged to the Tsar, but the Ukrainian people were allowed to retain a certain measure of self-government, and the Cossack organisation. Both of these were finally abolished in 1765 when the Slobodian aristocracy also became russianised.

The Russo-Austrian Period

175 In the 19th century it seemed as if the Ukrainian people had
● 167 more or less resigned themselves to being under Russian rule. All energy was concentrated on colonising the areas freed from Turks and Tatars; the frontiers of the country settled by Ukrainians were pushed farther and farther east and south. Russia was not blind to the threat to her national existence implied in this movement and sought to counteract Ukrainian expansion by forming colonies of Germans, Bulgars, and Greeks. But to no avail. Ukrainian colonisation crossed the upper and the lower reaches of the Don and villages even sprang up on the eastern bank of the Volga. Finally the Kuban area was settled by descendants of the Zaporog Cossacks who first occupied territory in North Caucasia and later, after bitter struggles with the mountain tribes in the Caucasus, had spread south.

175 The general situation of the Ukrainian people thus improved in this era of peaceful consolidation. The coast of the Black

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

National Minorities in Ukraine

162 563 Minorities in Ukraine amount to 20 % in purely Ukrainian territory and to 24.7 % in other parts of the country and are the consequence of long domination by foreigners and the immigration that entailed. The same cause is responsible for increasing Jewish immigration; Jews have always appeared to assist the spread of Russian influence in the East and Polish in the West.

175 ● 167 363 Contemporary minorities rarely date earlier than the second half of the 18th century, if we except a few peripheral areas in the west, the Tatars in Crimea and Russian colonisation in the east in the 17th century. Several earlier efforts made by the Polish Government and individual magnates to colonise the Right Bank region of Ukraine were unsuccessful; the first wave spent itself in the 16th century in the rebellion of Khmelnytskyj, while later colonists were completely absorbed by the native Ukrainian population. The Roman Catholic faith was able to persist only in a few places. A similar fate overtook Roumanian expansion in the 14th and 15th centuries in the Carpathians; it left traces in names and in the legal code of the settlements.

167 563 The Russians form the largest minority. Apart from the common colonisation of the Don area, it was only after the catastrophe at Poltava (1709) that Russians slowly penetrated into Ukraine. More numerous Russian settlers did not arrive till after there was no longer a Hetman (1764) and after the destruction of the Cossack Fortress (1775). At the same time the Turks were driven back from the Black Sea; the Ukrainian population, which had suffered great losses in the struggles with Turks and Tatars, was unable to tackle this job alone. But the Russians, who had been systematically settled, were disinclined to cultivate the steppe and preferred to move into the r ing towns as officials, artisans and laborers.

Ten thousands of German colonists took their place, settled by Catherine II in the former Governments of Kherson, Taurien, and Katerynoslav, later also in Southern Bessarabia. At the same time Emperor Joseph II settled German colonists in

Southern Galicia and Bucovina. Immigrants who were of the same faith as the Ukrainians also arrived at this time from Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Roumania (partly also from Armenia). 167 563

In the eighteen eighties the Russian Peasants' Bank settled tens of thousands of Polish, German and Czech colonists in Volynia. By far the majority of Poles in Galicia and in the Kholm district also settled there as late as the second half of the 19th century, in Volynia and Polessia even in the 20th (in many cases after 1920). Single Polish settlements in the Right Bank region (especially in Podolia) are later in origin. Elsewhere the Polish population has been preserved in the towns only, the workshops and estates belonging to Polish landed proprietors. Even the "most Polish" area of Ukraine, the Markhlevitskyj district in Eastern Volynia, which was formed artificially for political reasons, only had 28 332 Poles, of whom, however, only 10 715 actually spoke Polish. 162 563 167

After the end of the 18th century Eastern Galicia was almost purely Ukrainian; there were Poles only in the towns, in the administration and in connection with big estates. This fact was emphatically recorded by Graf Pergen, an eminent Austrian official, after Galicia was transferred to Austria (1772). The official census reports for 1846 and 1851 still represented the Galician province of the Austrian empire as predominantly Ukrainian; 50.1 % (2 441 771) Ukrainians as compared with 40.9 % (1 994 802) Poles. The statistics for 1857 are: 45.2 % Ukrainians, 42.7 % Poles, 2.5 % Germans and 9.7 % Jews. 162 563

The Polish element has been artificially increased only since 1867, and then only slowly. In taking the census, the actual state of affairs was camouflaged by tricks of statistics; the Jews, for instance, were counted as Poles, thus increasing the number of the latter in the census of 1910 by more than 800 000; another paper trick was played on Roman Catholic Ukrainians, who had mostly been converted in the course of recent years by cunning and force from the Greek Catholic United Faith to Roman (in Poland synonymous with Polish) Catholicism. Although they spoke no Polish and had otherwise the same interests as other Ukrainians, most of them were

3; Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine KDl

Causes and Effects of Emigration

167

About 6 millions (= 15 %) of the 45 million Ukrainians live outside of Ukrainian territory proper in Europe, Asia, and America. 650 000 live in the thinly populated Volga areas in Europe, and 3 millions in Western Siberia and the Far East, while there are fairly large settlements in Canada (Alberta, Sascatchewan, Manitoba) that count about 400 000 Ukrainians. By this modern colonisation in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Ukrainian people has once more given proof of its talent for colonising, a talent that had been displayed with great success in earlier times when South Ukraine was settled. Since 1881 in particular when the Russian government removed restrictions from emigration, there has been a lively increase in Ukrainian colonisation; at this time movements began to build up and protect lines of communication between the center of Ukraine and the area round Rostov. Colonisation of the Volga Valley became more intense; the number of Ukrainians settled there is estimated to-day at 1 million while the Ukrainian contribution to the eastern area of North Caucasia amounts to 33.4 % (of a total population of 3 638 000).

Towards the end of the eighties movements of emigration to Siberia set in, the Russian Government under General Unterberger, Governor of the Amur district (1888—1897) being in favor of Ukrainian emigration to the Far East for reasons of military policy. The efforts of the government were supported by the Trans-Siberian Railway which offered reduced fares and other facilities. The colonisation movement reached its height after the Russo-Japanese War and the unrest among peasants in 1902; the Russian Government seized the opportunity of getting rid of unruly subjects and at the same time of strengthening its own position in Asia. Up till then most of the colonists in Asia came from Central Russia (48 %); now the scales are turned and Central Russia contributed only 32 % while 48 % came from Ukraine, and the remainder from other parts of the Empire.

Before Stolypin's Agrarian Reform (1906—1910) some 40—50 000 Ukrainians left their homes every year; after the Reform

• 167 the number rose to 250 000 and in 1909 reached the record figure of 290 000, i. e. about 68 % of the natural increase of the Ukrainian population. The table below gives figures for emigration:

Year	Number of emigrants	Ukrainians	%
1890—1900	1 078 000	366 448	34
1900—1910	2 257 000	1 197 463	53
1911—1914	696 000	410 600	60.3

Alone the Far East counted about 510 000 immigrants from Ukraine in the years from 1883 up till 1928.

Most emigrants came from the Left Bank area although the Right Bank was much more densely populated and was at the same time poorer, as regards soil. 75 % of the emigrants from 1891—1900 came from the three gouvernements of Chernyhiv, Poltava and Kharkiv alone. Of the inhabitants of Siberia born in Europe, 48.6 % in the Far East, 46.6 % in Kasakstan and Kirghiz, 22 % in Siberia proper and 11.6 % of the population in the other areas were born in Soviet Ukraine. (Census of 1926). The figures in Russian statistics are, moreover, too low all over; according to careful estimations by natives 33 % of the Siberian population = 3—3.5 millions are of Ukrainian origin. Ukraine has therefore a great interest in the Russian areas that lie in Asia, all the more as the land they have colonised is much more valuable as regards economy, transportation and political development than the rest of the country that has been colonised by Russians or than the very sparsely populated areas of Siberia. The Ukrainians avoided the forests and deserts that attracted Russians and selected steppe areas as far as the river Irtysh, i. e. the fertile loess land along the Trans-Siberian Railway that is a continuation of their native Black Earth. Finally, they liked to settle in groups, often as villages, so that we find large, continuous areas that are wholly Ukrainian in character. About 67 % of all Ukrainians who have emigrated to Asia are settled on the so-called "Grey Wedge" already mentioned which adjoins the European area of the Ural and the Volga. No more than 15 % are scattered throughout the endless spaces in the North, East, and Center of Siberia.

The first mentioned area colonised by Ukrainians consists 167 ●
of a strip about 2000 km long and 100—400 km broad, south of the Trans-Siberian Railway from Omsk via Petropavlovsk as far as Slavhorod, the administration extending over considerable parts of Kasakstan and some districts of Western Siberia, marching in the south along the Afghanistan frontier in Kirghiz and in the Syr-Darja section of Kasakstan at Aulie-Ata and Alma-Ata with numerically smaller centers of Ukrainian colonisation. Here, over a large area of 450000 sq. kilometres the Ukrainians are relatively in the majority while the Russians come only third, after the Kazaks.

There are, however, other isolated areas with a large Ukrainian majority. Fourteen of the twenty-seven rayons in the Aktyubinsk area for instance, have a Ukrainian majority (78.91 % on the average), in the district of Rustakov of 26—13; the population of the entire district is composed of 41.3 % Ukrainians, 31.7 % Kazaks and 21.2 % Russians. Similar circumstances prevail in the area of Syr-Darja and in Western Siberia, for example at Omsk where 60 % Ukrainians live with 25 % Russians; here, too, there are five Ukrainian rayons whose names are derived from the old country, viz. Pavlohrad (81.2 % Ukrainians), Poltava (73.1 %), Odessa (63.4 %), Taurien (58.4 %) and Ural (52.4 %). Throughout the district of Slavhorod the Ukrainians, with 46.8 % of the population are relatively in the majority, while in the more limited area they represent even the absolute majority of 56 % as compared with 33 % Russians.

Another large center of Ukrainian colonisation lies in the Far East in the river basin of the Amur and Ussuri: here, official statistics for 1926 give for a large area of 1400000 square kilometres with an entire population of 1256292 an official Ukrainian population of 315203, in reality approximately 600000 Ukrainians (48 % of the entire population) as compared with 205000 Russians (16 %), 166000 Koreans (13 %), 125000 Kazaks (10 %), 5 % Chinese and 3 % White Ruthenians. The entire Far East, (including Transbaikalia), although four times bigger, still had 612217 Ukrainians i. e. 25.43 % of its entire population of almost 2.5 millions.

• 167 In this area Ukrainians live mostly in districts on the frontier between Korea and Manchukuo, round the towns of Spask and Khabarovsk on the river Amur and also near Vladivostok and Blagovishchensk and reaching as far as Kharbin in Manchukuo. In these districts the national feeling was definitely Ukrainian which was not without influence on political life during the revolution of 1917—1921; for this feeling managed to express itself and to get special state agencies for Ukrainian affairs erected.

World War I, the revolution and the post-war years caused at first a complete stoppage of emigration; but in the years 1924—1927 173 000 people emigrated from the Soviet Ukraine (8.5 % of the natural increase). The nationalisation of the soil, the collectivisation of landed property, the complete impoverishment of the peasantry and the impossibility of free emigration have created a situation the consequences of which we have no means of judging and of which we know little.

Emigration from Ukrainian territory in Austro-Hungary developed along different lines. Here there was no land free for immigrants: moreover the peasants were far too poor to take part in any big scheme of colonisation. In the 18th century some thousand of peasants were transferred to the Bachka and Slavonia where about 20 000 of them still live to-day, in particular near Ruski Kerestur, having preserved their national language and habits. In the eighteen-nineties some 10 000 Ukrainian peasants from Galicia were settled at Prnjavor and Banjaluka and they, too, regard themselves as Ukrainians to-day. In view of the great increase in population and the consequent splitting up of family holdings, such attempts at colonisation naturally mean little. Almost half of the holdings in Galicia are no bigger than 2 ha; in addition to economic pressure, caused by dividing large Polish estates among new Polish settlers, political pressure was also increased, so that the position of the Ukrainian peasant became desperate. This was the origin of emigration overseas.

Emigration to the New World had already set in sporadically in the sixties among the Lemki and the Ukrainians in the

Carpathians, who had tried to find a living in North America. 167
They were followed in 1867 by Russian Ukrainians who settled in Alaska and by some families from Eastern Galicia and the victims of religious persecution in Russia. Once the favorable conditions for Canadian immigrants were known, many more left the Bucovina and Eastern Galicia; but a real fever of emigration was only occasioned when foreign agents opened a campaign for South America with the result that 26 % of the natural increase left the home country in the last decade of the 19th century, and from 35—45 % in the following decade, although South American conditions were not at all suitable for Ukrainians. Hundreds of thousands rushed out of the country in those days, thereby making it possible for the Poles to settle their own nationals in Eastern Galicia, fertile Podolia and elsewhere. It was a blessing that this wild emigration did not last; Ukrainian organisations managed to reduce the movement to some kind of order and to steer colonists away from South America to Canada.

At the same time emigration for the season to Germany was organised, a habit that had brought employment in Europe to unemployed and poor peasants. In the years 1907/8—1911/12 this movement comprised more than 75 000 persons a year and reached over 100 000 directly before World War I. Smaller groups went to Bohemia, Roumania and Denmark, even to France, Belgium and England.

After the war both of these opportunities became more restricted, if not completely blocked. America and Canada began to demand so much from their colonists that many turned again to South America. Seasonal emigration to Germany had been forbidden by the Poles and was now mainly directed to France where, before the economic crisis of 1931, it accounted for more than 250 000 people. At the same time a considerable number of Ukrainians began to return home as may be seen from the following table which represents emigration from Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia in the years 1919—1935:

● 167

Countries	emigration	returning emigrants	balance
including			
European countries	74 000	35 000	39 000
Overseas i. e.	146 000	15 000	131 000
United States	13 000	2 000	11 000
Canada	73 000	6 000	67 000
Argentine	47 000	5 000	42 000
Brazil	8 000	1 000	7 000
total	220 000	50 000	170 000

In those days most emigrants came from Eastern Galicia; from here and from the Kholm district they went to America or as seasonal laborers to France, from Volynia and Polesya to America, while Ukrainians from Roumania settled in Canada only. In the years 1920—1934 23 300 persons emigrated from the Carpatho-Ukraine, of whom 15 100 (65 %) were Ukrainians, 4 100 (17.5 %) Jews, 2 400 (14.7 %) Magyars and 600 (2.7 %) others.

Most Ukrainian emigrants to America went to the United States; from Galicia alone more than 300 000 Ukrainians went there in the years 1900—1919; and about the same number left Ukrainian territory in Austria-Hungary. At present about 750 000—800 000 Ukrainians live in the United States, mainly in the East, in New York and Jersey City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Pittsburg, Detroit and Cleveland, most of them being employed in the professions, and as miners, factory hands, artisans and businessmen in a small way. The most important Ukrainian organisations, unions and papers are in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. In Jersey City the "Svoboda" (Liberty) — 40 000 subscribers — the largest Ukrainian daily in America, is published and in Philadelphia the "Ameryka", the most important organ of the Ukrainian Greek Catholics. Ukrainians are also found in smaller places as agricultural settlers and, particularly in the West, form fairly compact "islands" which even have Ukrainian names. In Dakota, for instance, there is a place called Ukraina and in Olyphant Pa the Ukrainians have a burgermeister of their own and their own municipal administration.

Ukrainians in North America are particularly well organised and have their own cultural and economic organisations amount-

ing to several thousands which are mostly amalgamated in a "Union of Ukrainian Organisations" (Objednannja) in Philadelphia. They are above all fortunate in the excellent organisation of insurance and welfare enterprises, of which practically all Ukrainians, including children, are members. The Ukrainians from Hungary are best organised, their central organisation, the "Soedinenie" (Union), amounting to about 160 000. 167 ●

Other important central organisations of Ukrainians are listed below:

Name	Founded	Number of members	Property in dollars
Ukrajinskyj Narodnyj Sojus (Jersey City) Ukrainian National Association	1894	33 468	3 256 206
Ukrajinskyj Robitnychyj Sojus (Scranton) Ukrainian Workers' Association	1910	15 958	1 549 904
Provydinnja (Philadelphia) Guidance	1912	15 278	635 084
Ukrajinska Narodnja Pomich (Pittsburg) Ukrainian Welfare Organisation	1915	9 000	250 000
Zhoda Bratstv (Olyphant) United Brethren	—	2 000	—

Most Ukrainians in America belong to the Greek Catholic United Church and have two sees, one for immigrants from Austria (126 churches with a membership of 244 118) and another for Hungarian Ukrainians (175 churches with a membership of 309 04[illegible]). Orthodox Ukrainians have been organised in two speci[illegible]urches and have 63 parish offices and 57 churches. There is also a Ukrainian Protestant Church.

Canada comes next as a goal of emigration for the Ukrainians. According to official Canadian statistics of 1941, 305 929 Ukrainians are now living in Canada. But this number represents only about half of the Ukrainian settlers, as they are often

● 167 listed according to their land of origin, i. e. as Austrians, Hungarians, Galicians, Poles, Russians etc. A careful estimate puts them at more than 400 000 which is almost 3 % of the entire population of Canada (11 506 655). In Canada they rank fourth after settlers from England, France and Germany and are concentrated mainly in the three western provinces of Manitoba, Saskachewan and Alberta, where they live in groups in large areas, so that they can make their influence felt in politics and also lead their own cultural life. They have made great progress in Canada in the course of time and have a good reputation as excellent colonists, as may be seen in the article by Prof. Phillippovich, a well known Austro-Hungarian political economist who wrote when the emigration movement was still young (1905): "What makes their presence of particular importance is their readiness to do work that is open to everybody in a new country, and that is the hardest to do, namely ordinary unskilled labor and personal service. The Ruthenian (Ukrainian) girls have a great reputation as domestic servants throughout the West. The agent general for colonisation told me that he has known little personal comfort after his Ruthenian maid left his home. And the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) build railways and roads. And when they have earned enough to be able to settle on a holding, then they work the stiffest soil with an industry and perseverance that wins the greatest respect. We reckon them among our most successful settlers, as the Vice-Minister of the Interior wrote me, a verdict which, as an impartial observer, I have heard confirmed by English officials. Our poor, despised, or at best ignored Ruthenians have come to their own there. The colonist's work is difficult and full of hardships and their simple tastes and physical endurance are valuable guarantees of success . . . But their personality grows with success. The same people finally become owners of what is for us a large farm, which they work with machines, and on which they can call dozens of cattle herds their own. They become shrewd men of business and learn to manage things like men of commercial experience."

Revolution, they did not seriously consider the situation which was then presented. At the same time, the French were so interested in the restoration of Poland that they had little inclination to listen to representatives of a people who were in opposition to their friends. 175 648

We thus see that the chief relations between England and Ukraine were to be found in the diplomatic sphere and in the reports of travellers and the works of various professors who were interested in the Slav languages and literatures, while the professors of history in the later periods were inclined to accept the various Russian theories of their own history, which were of course opposed to Ukraine. There was no opportunity for any large-scale personal acquaintance with the Ukrainians or their problems, and in this the Ukrainian situation followed closely the general pattern of British relations with the other countries of Eastern Europe.

Then at the end of the nineteenth century, a new situation arose in the United States and a little later in Canada. There came a relatively large-scale immigration of Ukrainians who settled chiefly in the factory and mining centers of the Eastern United States and the prairie farming regions in Western Canada. Most of these new immigrants came from Western Ukraine which was under the domination of Austria-Hungary as a wave of the great migration of peoples from that area. The difference in their choice of occupations in the United States and Canada was largely due to the difference between the methods adopted by the two countries in dealing with new arrivals. In the United States, they were allowed to find employment as they would and they gravitated to areas where there was already a considerable population of Slavs from Austria-Hungary. In Canada they were encouraged by the government to settle on still unoccupied land in the northwest and were given opportunities for acquiring their own land, as immigrants had been in the United States a half century before. 167 ●

Relatively few of the Ukrainian educated class came to the New World. The vast majority were peasants who hoped in the beginning to acquire the money in a few years to return to their old homes and live there in relative comfort. They were only

● 167 dimly conscious of their nationality and they were frequently registered by the immigration authorities who were themselves often ill informed as Ruthenians, Russians, Galicians, Austrians and Hungarians. In short they represented exactly that attitude and those classes for whom Ivan Franko was called to do so much preparatory work, before they could become fully conscious of their own value and their own national identity.

During the early years they had to undergo many hardships. Life was strange to them, far stranger than many had expected when they had listened to the tales of returning friends or the siren appeals of the steamship agencies. In communities where they were gathered in some numbers, they were drawn together and for their own protection and assistance, they began to organise along the lines which had been worked out by those nationalities which had preceded them. This process was accelerated, as they began to take root in their new environment and give up their plans for returning home in a few years.

000 Their first organisation were churches, whether of the Byzantine Catholic rite or of the Orthodox. The former had to contend again with the lack of information about them of many of the Roman Catholics who were ill prepared for the arrival of Uniat priests among them, and it was not until 1907 that they secured their first bishop.

The Orthodox came under the influence of the Russian clergy who were pushing southward from the Russian Orthodox mission established in Alaska before its purchase by the United States.

Another valuable instrument for organisation proved to be the fraternal organisation, which as a secular corporation could be organised under American laws for the development of mutual insurance funds and could also provide centres for recreation and for the self-improvement of its members in the broadest sense of the word. The first of these which has passed through several reorganisations and is still the largest is the "Ukrainian National Association" which was founded at Shamokin, Pennsylvania, in 1894. Several other such groups were founded and developed successfully but there is now a marked tendency toward consolidation among them.

4: Allen H-4 (no date) 1941 RD1 Ukraine RD1

and the Middle East have been left in suspense, a territory the size of Europe and new routes into the heart of China and ultimately to the Pacific have been brought under Soviet control. Under these circumstances 'the wheat-fields of the Ukraine' receded again into the background and became of only local importance: the more so since, in the two Soviet 'Economic Plans', interest in South-Eastern Russia has been concentrated on the industrial development of the New Russian region. These conditions are illustrated by the growth of industrial centres like Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Lugansk, Zaporozhie, and the decline of the great grain port of Odessa.

The agricultural wealth of the Ukraine has never in fact justified the enthusiasm which it has inspired from the time of the seventeenth-century Polish poet quoted in an earlier context to the more recent period of Herr Hitler and his apostles of *Lebensraum*. The natural conditions of the Ukraine are such that they really generously reward agricultural labour, but they exact always patient, strenuous and systematic toil.

Natural conditions differ greatly over the expanse of the country which Michael Dragomanov considered to constitute 'Greater Ukraine'. The agricultural 'age' of these territories differs in the extreme. In New Russia agriculture is only a century old, while Galicia has supported a numerous population of husbandmen for nearly a thousand years.

Galicia is one of the oldest agricultural lands of all Europe and conditions there have hardly altered since the days of Daniel and his *boyars*. The Galician earth, black in the eastern part, is tired old soil, impoverished by incessant labour, itself prompted and intensified by the ever-growing care of an ever-growing population to acquire its daily bread. Owing to the density of the population (110, and in some regions 132, inhabitants to the square kilometre) the area of holdings had been reduced to a minimum: 46 per cent of the farms comprise 2 hectares of land and sometimes less; 37 per cent comprise from 2 to 5 hectares. In a countryside where urban life has remained relatively stagnant live 75 per cent of the total population; while all commerce and crafts remain in the hands of the Jews in the large towns and in many of the villages, there is a 50 per cent surplus of hands among agricultural labourers. The peasants, Poles and Ukrainians alike, used to migrate to Germany and France as casual labour; before the last war they emigrated also in large numbers to Canada and the United States.

These arduous conditions of peasant life gradually developed a capacity for organization. Driven by necessity, the Galician peasantry set up a network of co-operatives for production and

722 814 no efforts were made to bring them together or to conduct a revival of the Ukrainian work that had been so ruthlessly and needlessly shattered. It was a wartime device adopted for a passing situation and the masters in the Kremlin well understood that the fury of the war had done more than they had ever dreamed possible for the disintegration of the various Soviet Republics. Once, therefore, the evacuation had taken place, the Soviet leaders had only to sit by and to reap the profits. There would be plenty of time for that later and so the war years seemed an intermission in the relentless pressure that had been exerted in the past.

648 661 ●[167] It was for the Soviet leaders a far more vital problem to recover the masses of the people who had fled to the west or had been carried away by the Germans and who might, even in case of a victory of the democratic powers, reveal the full force of the Soviet pressure. That was why they welcomed the Yalta Agreement which provided for the compulsory return to the USSR of all refugees and deported persons and why, once peace was restored, they showed such devilish ingenuity in trying to recover the control of every one who could testify from personal experience as to the nature of the Soviet rule.

It was with the greatest surprise and lack of comprehension that the Western leaders became aware of this situation. They had listened eagerly to the Soviet siren songs that it was only Nazi sympathizers and criminals and traitors who did not want to return under the Soviet rule and it required some months before supposedly serious statesmen recovered their equilibrium sufficiently to understand the way in which they had been duped in the middle of the war.

Yet, no sooner had Soviet rule been reestablished than the old processes were revived with even greater energy and vigor. The last masks of independence or of free thought in the cultural or economic fields were torn away and the old persecution and charges were pressed with every increasing zeal.

time was allotted to the process of registering "popular approval" for incorporation of the occupied lands in the Soviet Union. A "Ukrainian National Congress," "elected" immediately after the Soviet invasion, met on October 26; on November 1 the head of its plenary committee, M. I. Panchyshyn, sent a request for admission to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic; on November 15, the Verkhovna Rada (Supreme Soviet) of the latter division of the Soviet state approved the request; thus East and West Ukraine were "united." [59]

In spite of the complete replacement of independent press and political organizations by Communist agencies, however, a strong effort was made in the early months to attract support for the new regime. Perhaps one reason for this attempt was the desire to influence Ukrainians still outside the enlarged Soviet Ukrainian Republic, especially in the Generalgouvernement. In a protocol to the German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty of September 28, 1939, which had defined the frontier between the parts of Poland annexed by the two totalitarian powers, it was provided that the government of the USSR should place no obstacles in the way of migration of ethnic Germans from eastern Poland to Germany. This secured for the Nazis the right to "bring home" the tens of thousands of German-speaking Volhynians. In return, Germany acknowledged an equal right of Belorussians and Ukrainians to migrate to the Soviet Union.[60] In accordance with a further provision of the protocol, a Soviet "repatriation" commission was allowed to travel through the Lemko region in early 1940;[61] by the end of June, it had induced only thirty-five hundred Ukrainians to cross the border into the Soviet Union, however.[62]

[59] S. M. Belousov and O. P. Ohloblyn, *Zakhidna Ukraïna* (The West Ukraine) (Kiev: Akademiia Nauk URSR, Instytut Istorii Ukraïny, 1940), pp. 108 ff.

[60] Germany, Auswärtiges Amt, *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941: Documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Office*, eds. Raymond James Sontag and James Stuart Beddie (Washington: Department of State, 1948), pp. 104–5.

[61] *Krakauer Zeitung*, February 18–19, 1940, p. 6, reports the departure of one thousand Ukrainians from this area after a visit of the Soviet commissioners.

[62] According to *Nastup*, June 29, 1940, pp. 2–3. In an article which was remarkably hostile to the Soviet regime, in view of the latter's publicly cordial relations with Germany at that time, the Nationalist paper stated that the "intensive propaganda" of the Soviet commission, aided by "the pro-Russian intelligentsia" but combatted by "healthy Ukrainian elements," had resulted in the meager migration

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

The campaign to win friends in Galicia and Volhynia was in part negative; measures which were most likely to inflame anti-Soviet sentiments were avoided. The church was not entirely suppressed, though it was sharply criticized.[63] Its real property was confiscated and the religious orders disbanded.[64] The Soviet authorities weakened the influence of the church on the youth by liquidating the Catholic school system and forcibly inducting the children into Communist organizations.[65] However, the person of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi was respected.[66] The part of the intelligentsia which was not prominent in politics was allowed to remain at large, although persons in callings such as the law sometimes found it necessary to turn to nonprofessional work.[67] On the more positive side, the Ukrainian language was given a far greater scope than it had enjoyed under Polish rule. In particular, the University of L'vov was formally Ukrainized in language and personnel, although it is said that the resistance of remaining Polish professors to lecturing in Ukrainian was not harshly dealt with.[68] Students from the East Ukrainian universities were brought on tours to the West Ukraine, and L'vov students made Communist-sponsored trips to Kiev.[69] Other ele-

cited. Either this is one of the not too infrequent examples of ability of the Prague publication to print items contrary to German policy, or someone in authority gave the signal for an anti-Soviet attitude even at that early date. In the latter case it may have been a subtle riposte in the hidden conflict over Soviet demands for Bukovina. On the other hand, as early as March the *Krakauer Zeitung* printed a report by a German who had visited the villages of the Lemko area. He praised the young Ukrainians, noting that they wore the national blue and yellow colors and greeted him with "Heil Hitler!" and "Slava Ukraïna!" (Glory to the Ukraine) (*Krakauer Zeitung*, March 7, 1940, p. 5).

[63] See F. Iastrebov, "Uniats'ke dukhovenstvo na sluzhbi u polskoho panstva" (The Uniate Clergy in the Service of the Polish Aristocracy), *Komunist*, October 9, 1939, p. 2.

[64] "Die Tragödie der ukrainisch-katholischen Kirche," *Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, January, 1952, p. 14.

[65] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, March 18, 1942, p. 4; Stepan (Stephen) Baran, *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Metropolitan Andrew Sheptyts'kyi) (Munich: Vernyhora Ukraïns'ke Vydavnyche Tovarystvo, 1947), p. 112.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] Interview 36.

[68] For the official Soviet version see M. Marchenko (the new rector of the University of L'vov), "L'vivs'kyi Universytet na novykh shliakhakh" (L'vov University on New Paths), *Komunist*, December 16, 1939, p. 2.

[69] Interview 51; *Krakivs'ki Visti*, September 17, 1943, on a trip of about forty students of the L'vov veterinary school to Kiev in the spring of 1940.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

p. 101

V. REPRESSION AND REICHSKOMMISSARIAT

THE DRASTIC MEASURES taken by the Germans against the Bandera forces seemingly had cleared the field for the activity of the OUN-M. Like the apparent advantage gained by Bandera's group in the early summer, this opportunity soon proved to be an illusion. For some two months, however, Mel'nyk's adherents were able to carry on far-reaching activities in the central Ukraine. Since the beginning of this period coincided with the capture of Kiev by German troops, and the Ukraine's second city, Kharkov, fell before it ended, the interlude was of great importance in enabling the OUN-M to spread the doctrine of Nationalism in the former Soviet area.

On September 19, 1941, the Germans occupied Kiev. Two or three days later, the first groups of Mel'nyk adherents arrived from the base in Zhitomir, and rapidly set about organizing national life in the city.[1] This was a difficult task at best because the Soviet forces had inflicted severe injuries on the city before leaving. A large part of this damage consisted of physical destruction, especially of industrial facilities and means of communication.[2] Even more serious from the point of view of rebuilding an anti-Communist, national civil life was the wholesale deportation of intelligentsia. For example, only five of the members of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences were left, the others having been evacuated to what the Communist government called the "new cultural capital" of the Ukraine, Ufa, in the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.[3]

[1] Interview 65.

[2] Leontii Forostivs'kyi, *Kyiv pid vorozhymy okupatsiiamy* (Kiev under Enemy Occupations) (Buenos Aires: Mykola Denysiuk, 1952), pp. 21–23.

[3] *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 16, 1941, p. 2, and February 25, 1942, p. 4; *Ukrains'ka Diisnist'*, November 1, 1941, p. 1.

decrease of popular support for Germany in the Ukraine. There is good evidence that the population was at first sympathetic to the German efforts to recruit labor voluntarily.[70] Moreover, a large number of nationalist Ukrainians supported the measure; they not only wanted to help Germany win the war against the Soviet Union, but believed that it would be a valuable cultural experience for young Ukrainians to come into contact with advanced German technology and with Western European culture in general. To them it was means of drawing the Ukrainian nation away from its too-close association with the Russians and the "Asiatics" of their empire and of establishing a European orientation for their country.[71]

Unhappily for these visions, the methods used by the Germans in dealing with the volunteer workers soon dried up the supply. They were frequently given miserable transportation and poor accommodations on arrival in Germany. Highly trained workers and professional men who had volunteered in order to increase their technical ability by experience in Germany were assigned to common labor.[72] Most important, however, the Ukrainians, like other *Ostarbeiter,* were forced to wear a humiliating badge distinguishing them from Western Europeans; they were forbidden social contacts with the latter and, in order to implement this decree, were excluded from motion-picture theaters, restaurants, and other public places. The erstwhile willing worker felt that the Germans regarded him (as many did) as nothing but a Bolshevik prisoner.[73]

When this policy of segregation resulted in lack of volunteers, force was used; mandatory labor service for young men and women was officially introduced in the Reichskommissariat on September 21, 1942,[74] but in practice compulsion had long been employed. In reply to the inevitable evasion of this order, the most demoralizing of tricks—such as seizure of worshippers at

[70] Report of the representative of the Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete in Heeresgebiet B, First Lieutennant Theurer, October 7, 1942, PS 054 (hereafter referred to as PS 054).

[71] E.g., *Krakivs'ki Visti,* February 6, 1942, p. 2.

[72] PS 054.

[73] Opinion report for period June 12–July 14, 1942, Auslandbriefprüfstelle, Gruppe VIII, PS 302 (hereafter referred to as PS 302).

[74] *Deutsche Ukraine Zeitung,* September 22, 1942, p. 3.

6: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1955 RD1 Ukraine RD1

church services and invitations by German authorities to theatrical performances at which all were arrested—were utilized. Force and brutal retaliation, such as burning of villages from which the potential workers ran away, were frequently applied.[75] The conscripts were sent a thousand miles to Germany in unheated cattle cars, sealed with barbed wire. Still worse, there was no just selection of those most suited for departure, no systematic registration.[76] Mothers of small children were sometimes taken; sons and husbands who were the only support of their families were conscripted without adequate provision for the families' maintenance.[77]

The horror of such treatment was perhaps the single most important cause of popular revulsion against the Germans. In addition to all its material hardships, the mere idea of forced transportation to a distant and unknown land recalled the generations-old terror of banishment to Siberia.[78] The extent of the program was so enormous that every family was touched; it became a universal evil. Of the total population of Kiev, thirty-eight thousand persons (over 10 percent) were delivered to the *Ostarbeiter* program within the first ten months of German occupation.[79] In the southern *Generalbezirke* somewhat smaller numbers appear to have been involved[80] but in the crucial *Bezirk* of Zhitomir, one hundred and seventy thousand (about 6 percent of the population) were taken by mid-1943, and thirty thousand more were to follow.[81] In all, as early as August, 1943, one out of every forty inhabitants of the Ukraine had been deported to Germany as forced laborers,[82] and by the end of the occupation the number of

[75] Auslandbriefprüfstelle, report for September 11–November 11, 1942, PS 018 (hereafter referred to as PS 018).

[76] Landesbauernführer Körner, Die neue deutsche Ukraine-Politik, PS 1198 (hereafter referred to as PS 1198).

[77] Occ E-4 (1); PS 054.

[78] Oral report of Generalkommissar Leyser (Zhitomir) to Rosenberg, June 17, 1943, PS 265 (hereafter referred to as PS 265).

[79] Commander of the SP and the SS, Kiev, to Commander of the SP and the SS, Ukraine, July 20, 1942, NO 1603 (hereafter referred to as NO 1603).

[80] Only about 1 percent from *Generalbezirk* Nikolaev by mid-1942 (Conference of Sauckel and Reichskommissariat officials in Kiev, August 12, 1942, NO 1606; hereafter referred to as NO 1606).

[81] PS 265.

[82] According to Sauckel, director of the *Ostarbeiter* program, at a Führer Conference, August 20, 1943, NO 1831 (hereafter referred to as NO 1831).

Ukrainian workers in Germany totaled one and one-half million.[83]

The suffering caused by the actions of the Germans described above did not directly affect the activity of the nationalist elements, as did their repressive attitude toward education, religion, culture, and local administration. Indirectly, however, it played an enormous part in the development of the nationalist movements in the East Ukraine during the German occupation. One effect was a general subordination of all thought, all activity, to the demands of self-preservation. The constant struggle to keep alive resulted in a reduction of the energy and attention which could be devoted to all political questions, including nationalism. On the other hand, the sheer impossibility of coming to terms with the German authority, regardless of how ready one might be to sacrifice all independence to do so, led many to seek a political movement which promised deliverance. A vast number, of course, turned back to Communism, hoping that the experience of near-defeat would lead to a modification of Moscow's policies. For others, however, the only rational solution appeared to be the nationalist parties.

Weak as they were after the waves of suppressions during the six months from September, 1941, to February, 1942, the two OUN groups endeavored to meet this challenge. Of the two factions, the Bandera group appears to have made the easiest, but not the most thorough-going adjustment. Its ability to adjust at a rather shallow level was due to several factors. The members of the OUN-B were nearly all young, and their movement placed little emphasis on systematic ideology. When they went to the East Ukraine, they carried a large number of slogans and romantic pledges as baggage.[84] These either attracted or antagonized

[83] PS 1198.

[84] One of these oaths, as discovered by the German police, reads:

"On my honor, for the fame of the fallen heroes, for the holy blood spilled, for my Ukrainian earth and the majesty of my Ukrainian homeland, I swear that I will struggle with all my strength and with my life for a free and Ukrainian state. With my heart, my soul, and my whole being I confess that only the Ukrainian revolution can give power to the Ukrainian state and the people. Unto death I will stand on the battlefield in order to build a national Ukrainian State. No one and nothing at all can hold me back from the path of the Ukrainian national revolution, neither difficulties nor death. I will carry out every command of my leader. I swear on the Ukraine, that I will loyally and honestly carry out

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

of the Soviet regime and the quasi-disappearance of the export of cereals and the importation of coal and of colonial products, Odessa has given up its place to Kharkov and then to Kiev, the first an industrial centre and the second an administrative one.

On the whole territory of the Ukraine 25·5 million human beings live in the country and obtain their means of existence from agriculture and allied trades and only 8,000,000 live in towns.

The latter thus form 24 per cent of the population, representing 19 per cent in Zone 1 and 27 per cent in Zone 2.

The principal occupations of these 8,000,000 town-dwellers are the following: workers, 6·5 million; military, officials, and free professions, 1 million; artisans, ½ million. As these figures are taken from Soviet statistics, the professions of traders, industrialists, and people of independent means are not represented.

It is interesting to note that of the 8,000,000 town-dwellers, 70 per cent are not Ukrainians but national minorities, which are less numerous in the country-side. Nevertheless their average proportion is much greater in Zone 2 where it sometimes reaches 40 per cent, as, for example, in the district of Odessa, and nearly 50 per cent in the Donietz basin.

The natural outlet for the surplus agrarian population of Zone 1 seems to be the great industrial centres such as the oil basin of the Donietz and the mines of Krivoi-Rog, where the landless peasants can find work. And yet the majority of the working mass has come from districts outside the Ukraine, whereas many of the farmers of these regions have emigrated to Eastern Siberia where they have founded whole villages. Others have gone to the United States or to Canada, where they have founded prosperous agricultural communities.

[See Bregy 116, pp. 134- D. ---Analyst]

were cruelly suppressed by Russia: large masses of the Kuban population were deported to Siberia.[1]

6. The Ukrainians in Siberia and the Far East

The lack of land on their own territory forced the Ukrainian peasants to move behind the Volga, the Ural, and into the regions of Siberia. This movement of settlers developed especially after the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway at the end of the 19th century. Thus, large territories behind the Volga, the regions of Samara, Astrakhan, in Central Siberia, the regions of Tomsk, Omsk, Akmolinsk, in Turkestan and in the Far East, the Amur and Sea Region — the so-called Green Quoin, were colonised.

Before World War I in the Green Quoin about 500,000 Ukrainians, mostly farmers, were numbered. At that time a Ukrainian national movement began: educational organisations, bookshops, theatre performances etc. (centre Vladivostok). After the revolution of 1917, in the Far East, Ukrainian cultural, national, political and other organisations were created, and Ukrainian periodicals appeared for the first time. In June 1917, the 1st Ukrainian Far East Congress was called, which decided to demand national autonomy for the Green Quoin, a territory the size of Italy. The 2nd Ukrainian Far East Congress created the 'Ukrainian Far East Secretariat' for the administration of Ukrainian political affairs of the Ukrainian population of the Far East. The Japanese occupation of 1920—22, the war of the 'Red' and 'White' Russians for the Territory of the Green Quoin, did not forward the development of the Ukrainian national movement there. After having taken possession of the Far East, the Russian Communists were hostile to the Ukrainian movement, and hindered especially the development of Ukrainian schools. Though the demands for the introduction of the Ukrainian language in schools for the Ukrainians of the Far East and Siberia came from the Ukrainian population itself and from the Commissariat of Education of Soviet Ukraine, the Russian bureaucracy did not recognise the Ukrainian language, declaring that this was "a separate group of Russian population speaking a special jargon" (Z. Ostrovsky, *The Problems of Ukrainisation and Byelorussianisation in the RSFSR: Moscow*, 1931, p. 33).

7. The Ukrainian Emigration to Europe and America between the World Wars

In consequence of the occupation of Ukrainian territory by Soviet Russia and Poland in 1920, a great number of Ukrainian emigrants

[1] [During collectivization and famine in the Kuban region and the RSFSR, 1932-33 -- Analyst]

— soldiers of the Ukrainian Army, politicians, state officials etc. had to go into exile. The neighbour states which had divided the Ukrainian territory among themselves had one common interest: to prevent the growth of a Ukrainian movement. However, Czechoslovakia met the cultural needs of the Ukrainian emigrants. On the recommendation of President T. G. Masaryk the Czechoslovakian Government from 1921 procured funds for the creation of Ukrainian Academic Schools in CSR — University, Ukrainian Economic School, Pedagogic University etc. In Prague prominent Ukrainian scholars were living, and here the political life of the Ukrainian emigration developed.

In Berlin the Ukrainian Scientific Institute at the Berlin University was created in 1927. A Ukrainian Scientific Institute was founded in Warsaw in 1929. These institutes developed a considerable activity.

The Ukrainian emigrants, officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army who had left Ukraine with their Government in 1920, remained faithful to the traditions of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic. The Ukrainians in exile were that part of the Ukrainian nation who could speak freely to the world in the name of their enslaved brethren.

The Ukrainians in America are mostly from the Western territories of Ukraine — Galicia, Bukovina, Carpatho-Ukraine. They are grouped around insurance associations. The oldest Ukrainian organisation in USA is the Ukrainian National Association in New York, founded in 1894. This Association publishes the daily *Svoboda*. The Ukrainian Workingmen's Association in Scranton, Pa., founded in 1910, publishes the weekly *People's Will*. There are also smaller organisations of a similar nature. Between the two World Wars the Ukrainians in Poland had considerable financial support for their cultural institutions, especially for the schools, from American and Canadian Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians in USA are mostly workers; in Canada, farmers. The number of the Ukrainians in the United States is about 1 million, in Canada about 300,000. The Ukrainians in Canada have their co-operative associations, educational institutions and private schools. The centres of the Ukrainian emigration are Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, Montreal and Hamilton. The strongest political organisation of the Canadian Ukrainians is the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, publishing *Ukrainian Voice* in Winnipeg. Among the Ukrainians in USA and Canada the Communist Party is conducting its destructive activities, possessing the means even for the publishing of big daily papers in Ukrainian

8: Foden K. H-4,5 (no date) 1951 R01 Ukraine KU1

3. *The New Ukrainian Political Emigration*

In consequence of the occupation of all Ukrainian territories by the armies of Soviet Russia, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians had to remain outside the borders of their fatherland. In the first years after the termination of the war, the Ukrainian emigrants lived in Displaced Persons' Camps in Germany and Austria. Now the Ukrainians can be seen in all European and American countries, in Australia and New Zealand. These are all people who, for national and political reasons, opposed repatriation into a Ukraine oppressed by the Communist Government. They declared repeatedly, when they were threatened with forced repatriation, that they would sooner commit suicide than fall into the hands of their oppressors.

The Ukrainian emigrants in Europe and America are developing a considerable political and cultural activity. The central institutions of the Ukrainian political parties are remaining in exile where their press is being published, the elementary, secondary and academic schools are being operated — the Ukrainian University in Munich, the Ukrainian Technical University in Germany, until 1945 in Bohemia, and others.

After World War II the Ukrainian émigrés have created more scientific institutions: The Scientific Shevchenko Society, a continuation of the identical Society which had existed in Lviw since 1874, and had been destroyed by the Communist régime, and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Science. These Ukrainian Scientific Societies are working effectively and have their branches in Europe and in America.

Under these circumstances, when in Ukraine enslaved by Soviet Russia, the Ukrainian political life is suppressed and cannot show itself freely, the Ukrainian emigrants think it their duty to speak in the name of their nation in the defence of its rights before civilised mankind. For this purpose the leaders of the Ukrainian parties created the Ukrainian National Council in July 1948, as the political representation of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian National Council continues the tradition of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic which had been created through the will of the Ukrainian nation in 1918—1919. Many of the participants of the Ukrainian fight for liberation and many of the leaders of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic are still living. These men believe firmly that the time for the free state existence of the Ukrainian nation will come.

464 [166] districts through the long winter has led to the creation of a large class who migrate according to the season, working for wages on the land in summer and moving to the towns in search of work in winter. A slight permanent movement to the towns is in progress, but the rate is not rapid. As the Little Russians are not naturally energetic or industrious, the supply of labour for industries other than agriculture is not equal to the demand, and immigration from other parts of Russia is continuous. The heavier classes of work in the industries of the Donets and Krivoy-Rog regions are seldom undertaken by the natives of the [563] country. The underground labour of the mines and the foundry work is done mainly by Great Russians, who come from the Governments of Smolensk, Orel, [511] Kursk, Mohilev, and Simbirsk. The port labour at Odessa and Nikolaev has attracted a population of mixed nationality with a low standard of living, who exist between seasons in a state of semi-starvation.

464 221 In the agricultural world labour is fairly plentiful, but the neglect to cultivate such lands as are not suitable for cereals has led to a summer immigration of Bulgarians, who raise fine crops of vegetables and ground fruits on low-lying land, supplying not only the neighbourhood but far distant towns. These immigrants return home in winter.

● 167 There is no great permanent emigration from the Ukraine except among the population in the region of the upper Dnieper, a fair number of whom leave for the Polish industrial districts owing to bad conditions at home.

(*b*) *Labour Conditions*

466 511 565 Labour conditions cannot be called good in any branch of industry. The State makes no effort to regularize the supply and very little to better the conditions of labour. The landless agricultural proletariat, which is increasing steadily, lives in a hand-to-mouth fashion, and its position is gradually growing worse. Lacking energy and ability, individuals of

369 were counted as towns, whereas in former times
162 even the huge peasant villages of 30,000 and 40,000 inhabitants were placed in the category of villages.

The result of the new census becomes particularly interesting if one brings in for comparison the Statistique de la population de l'Oukraine contemporaine published in 1929 by the statistical office of the Soviet Ukraine in Khar'kov in both Ukrainian and French. In this publication the population figure on January 1, 1929 is given as 30,363,547. According to that, the population of Soviet Ukraine increased from January 1, 1929 to January 17, 1939 by only 596,674 souls. From the beginning of the Five Year Plan period, however, the normal annual increase amounted to 600,000 souls, according to the birth surplus of 20 per thousand; this would be 6 millions in 10 years. Thus the population decreased by about 5.4 million souls from 1929 to 1939. In an evaluation of these results we must keep in mind the fact that since 1936 abortions have been punishable by 10 years imprisonment, and that a large immigration of Russian and Far Eastern elements has taken place, which was particularly promoted by Moscow.

162 No less serious than these factors is the
• 167 decrease of village population since 1926 by 4.41 million souls. Even if the largest part of these 4.41 million village inhabitants should be counted city dwellers, the decrease thus being only apparent, what has happened to the increase of the peasant population? The census of 1939 reveals the silent tragedy of the "dead frontier", the strip of land about 50 kilometers wide /168/ at the former Rumanian and Polish boundary, which had to be cleared of Ukrainian inhabitants. It betrays the famine from 1931 to 1933, the exiles
167 to the frosty North and the dislodgments. On this point the Komsomolets Ukrayiny of May 21 and 22, 1939 wrote that the Ukrainians were being

167 sent as farmers to the Far East and to Kazakstan, and as laborers to the construction of the railway lines Donets Basin-Moscow and Akmolinsk-Kartaly. The railway Akmolinsk-Kartaly crossed the desert of Kazakstan in an 806 kilometer stretch. The Visti of June 3, 1939 complete this picture when they write: "The Soviet Ukraine annually furnishes the newly-arisen industrial centers in the other Soviet Republics with hundreds of thousands of laborers. At Magnitogorsk, Kutsbas, in the Far East and on the Turkish Railway there are thousands of construction workers who come from all different parts of the Ukraine."

369 This policy of splitting up the Ukrainian people must in the long run have all the more fateful consequences since the cities in the Ukraine are primarily in foreign hands. "The Ukrainian people remained peasants and villagers; they left their cities in the hands of foreigners, Russians, Jews, Germans, Poles." This was the complaint even before the First World War of the Ukrainian geographer Rudnitskyj: (111) The Ukrain-

111. Rudnitskyj: ibid., page 162.

ian peasant son did not want to go to the city where people spoke in foreign tongues. Village tranquility and quiet romanticism he recaptured only in the country. And thus the Ukrainian peasant youth wandered by the hundreds of thousands to the Kuban, the Volga, to Siberia and yonder to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in order to colonize new land there, while foreigners took possession of the Ukrainian cities. The result was
162 369 that from 1926 to 1931 in the cities of all Ukrainian provinces there were 38.8 Ukrainians per 100 inhabitants, 28.1 Russians, 21.6 Jews, 6.9 Poles, 0.8 Germans and 3.8 of other nationalities. (112)

112. Kubiyovich: Georgraphy of the Ukrainian and Bordering Areas, page 307 and 308.

185 exists only in socialism." At the Party Congress in 1939, Stalin corrected these and similar expressions of conceit. He turned against the "fancifulness" of the advance estimates of the last Five Year Plan. The hopes of the proletarian masses of the Union for the promised paradise, nourished for more than twenty years, /183/ were abruptly destroyed by the "father of the people" with his allusion to the sacrifices which are still necessary in order to catch up with the most progressive states. There was still time for that, Stalin said, "and not a little time".

/184/ Emigrants

668 Although the Ukrainian people do not have a state (the Soviet Ukraine is merely a province of Moscow), they have three governments which have their seat in some foreign European country. There is the government of hetman Skoropadskiy which resigned in 1918 and was later revived in exile; then the directorate of the Ukrainian People's Republic which originally consisted of five presidents. Its chairman Petliura is dead and its members have scattered. Finally there is a West Ukrainian government. The political emigration [162] from the Soviet Union, Bessarabia, Bukovina and Poland resides almost altogether in Europe. Here it numbers 150,000 souls including the emigrants. Of these about 50,000 East Ukrainians alone are living in what was formerly Poland, 50,000 Ukrainians are living in France, 15,000 without protectorate and 5000 under aprotectorate in Germany, 8000 in Belgium and 5000 each in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The rest are divided up among twelve countries.

The world knows little about the former governments, nor do they stand out. All of them cling tenaciously to the fiction of their legality. The most active among them is the Petliura govern-

668 sech sharp shooters, Ievhen Konovalets who, after Petliura reached an understanding with the Poles separated from the dictator. Konovalet's successor is the former chief of staff of the Ukrainian army, chief of the sech sharp shooters Andrey Melnyk who was obliged to flee from Poland in 1938. The OUN has its strongest support in the Ukrainian emigrants in the USA - "Organization for the Political Revival of the Ukraine, New York" -, in Canada and South America. But also among the 150,000 European political refuges and emigrants it has the most adherents of all groups large and small. There are Ukrainian nationalists in almost all Central and West European capitals, among others in Rome, in Paris and in London where the "English-Ukrainian Society" establishes contact with the Ukrainian emigrants in Canada.

*

167 /187/ When in the second half of the past century economic conditions became more and more unbearable in the Ukraine, many Ukrainians emigrated; from the Russian Ukraine to East Russia, from Galicia, from Carpatho-Ukraine, and from Bukovina overseas. In 1926, 771,000 Ukrainians lived outside the Ukraine proper in small and large linguistic islands, within European Russia, and 2,138,000 lived in Asia. In the United States there were about 700,000 Ukrainians, primarily workers; in Canada there were 300,000 mostly farmers; in Brazil 50,000 to 60,000, in Argentina 50,000, in the rest of the South American countries 10,000 to 20,000. (134)

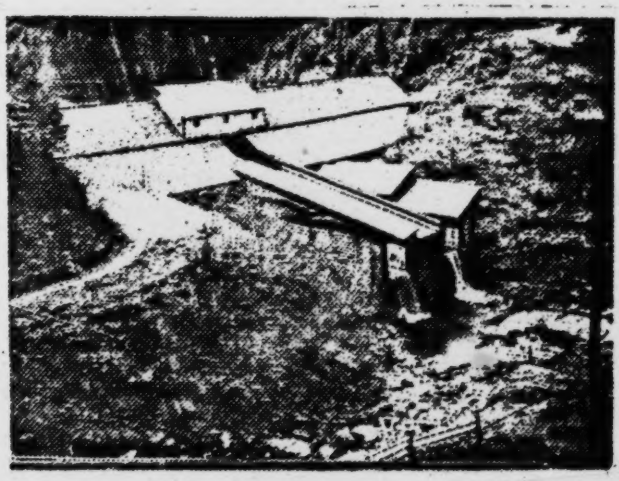
134. Kubiyovich: Geography, page 321.

519 Organizations of compatriots of various kinds keep the Ukrainians together overseas. The closest ties are those between the farmers in

They are a mountain people who clung to the place where they
177 were born. This applies even to those who, through force of circum-
181 stances, had to leave their native village to earn their living elsewhere.
167 Some have found occupation in the fertile South; but when they have saved some money they want to return home and are prepared to pay a higher price for a few poor fields, although in the valleys of the South they could buy much better land for the same amount. Hundreds of thousands have emigrated to America, where about as many Ruthenians can be found as have remained in the homeland under the Carpathians. Yet many long to come back home to find their last resting place in the native soil.

137 The peculiar beauty of this forgotten country has a strong grip
313 on her simple sons. The Ruthenian Carpathians are not so high as the Slovak peaks, but the vast stretches of dense forest, which cover almost half of Ruthenia, give the country a more primeval appearance. Some of the woods and slopes are delightful idylls, where the fresh and fragrant air is full of hum and rustle and warble. But in many parts, unchartered and untouched by human hand, the forest is sombre. Trees felled by storm or gale lie dead where they have fallen, and there is a smell of rotting wood in this lonely wilderness. Wild boar, wolf, lynx and bear have their hunting ground here, while above the tops of the mighty pines, firs, oaks and maples, circle the eagle and the hawk. Other parts of the forest are enlivened by the rhythmical sound of the axe cutting down trees to be floated down the rushing mountain streams. A large proportion of the hardy Ruthenians earn their living in this way. But above this expanse of deep forest are the sunlit pastures and upland meadows sprinkled with gentian, buttercups, pansies, chrysanthemums and geraniums. Sheep and cattle graze here during the summer months; Ruthenia is also a country of shepherds, who blow their huge horns at night to gather the scattered herds.

312



Wooden dam in Ruthenia

Nor is Gogol an isolated example. Count Alexey Tolstoy too belongs to some extent to the Ukraine and no Ukrainian poet has succeeded in paying to his homeland a more beautiful lyrical tribute than Tolstoy's.

Were the Ukraine 'Little Russia' only, the land of the Cossacks, the problem would be more straightforward; but the Ukraine is, apart from minor territories, at least Little Russia plus New Russia. New Russia comprises those territories along the shores of the Black Sea which were incorporated into the Russian Empire for the most part under Catherine the Great. It was only by the amalgamation of Little Russia with a large part of New Russia that the Ukraine obtained a sea-coast and was able to include within its borders places like Odessa, Kherson, Mariupol and Nikolayev whose history was in no way linked with that of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetmans. New Russia became a true microcosm of Europe. Just as the ancient and medieval history of New Russia is a mosaic of the history of many peoples which had settled on the northern shores of the Black Sea, traded with the goods and products of its hinterlands and founded states, a history of Greeks and Scythians, Khazars, Goths, Genoese and Tartars, so too the history of modern New Russia is a tale of all sorts of races. People from many lands transformed the steppe into arable soil, built ports and railway lines and developed the industry of the Donets Basin. New Russia was a little America in the sense of being a melting-pot of European races, with the difference, however, that not all pioneer settlers forgot the language of their forefathers in the Ukrainian-Russian surroundings.* The people who brought New Russia into being included sons of every nation of the Balkans, many Germans and even individual Frenchmen who assumed high administrative posts there. At least one Briton played a distinguished part in the development of New Russia, John Hughes, a pioneer of coal-mining in the Donets region, to whose initiative is due the foundation of the big industrial centre now called Stalino. (Until the early twenties the place was called after him 'Yuzovka'.)

UKRAINIAN DIASPORA IN THE U.S.S.R.

Whilst Russians and other peoples shared with the Ukrainians the credit for the colonization of what is to-day the Ukrainian S.S.R., millions of Ukrainians now live dispersed all over the Soviet Union.

The Ukraine, being a densely populated country, was able to contri-

* An ethnical group of colonists in New Russia, who were completely assimilated by their Russian-Ukrainian surroundings, were the Serbs, of whom about 100,000 came to the Southern Ukraine between 1739 and 1752. The Serbs colonized two Ukrainian regions, one on the right bank of the Dnieper, originally called 'New Serbia', and the other in the Donets Basin, called 'Slavyanoserbia'. A century after the Serbian pioneer immigration into New Russia the Serb element could no longer be traced in any population statistics of the Russian Empire.

bute a large army of colonists to the Slav ethnical expansion towards the East at the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth century. To describe the Ukrainians as junior partners in the Russian colonization of Eurasia would hardly do full justice to the role which they played. Thus among the eight 'Governments' of European Russia which between 1897 and 1911 supplied the highest number of settlers for Russian Asia four were predominantly Ukrainian, Poltava, Chernigov, Kiev and Kharkov – two were Byelorussian – Mogilev and Vitebsk, and only two Great Russian – Kursk and Voronezh.

The share of the Ukrainians in the Eurasiatic colonization makes any complete separation of Ukrainians and Russians, such as the extreme Ukrainian nationalists advocate, difficult if not impossible. Almost everywhere throughout the Soviet Empire there are Ukrainians living as workers, peasants and technical specialists. According to incomplete figures referring to the early thirties 1,049,000 Ukrainians then lived in Kazakhstan, 966,000 in Western Siberia, 447,000 in the Lower Volga region and roughly 400,000 in the Far East.[1] Smaller groups of Ukrainians lived in the Middle Volga region (215,000), in the Ural region (137,000) and in the western regions of the R.S.F.S.R. (186,000). This last-mentioned group of Ukrainians, particularly those of the province of Bryansk, constitute a particularly interesting species. They speak a strange Russian-Byelorussian-Ukrainian mixed language but have retained some sort of romantic attachment to the Ukraine on account of the alleged relationship of their forefathers with the Ukrainian Cossacks.[2]

The largest Ukrainian group outside the Ukraine, over 3,500,000 strong, inhabits the North Caucasus region where the Ukrainians in certain areas form up to 60 per cent of the total population. Ukrainian nationalists have therefore demanded that the borders of the Ukrainian Republic should be shifted towards the east to include in particular the fertile Kuban area.

The Ukrainian diaspora, particularly in the R.S.F.S.R., was steadily reinforced throughout the inter-war period. Between the 1926 and the 1939 census a considerable number of Ukrainians left the Ukraine to settle in the new industrial centres of Russia proper, thus increasing the Russian-Ukrainian intermixture. Through this migration such typical national Ukrainian provinces as Poltava and Vinnitsa lost within twelve years 15 and 7 per cent, respectively, of their total population.

RUSSIAN DIASPORA IN THE UKRAINE

From the point of view of future Ukrainian-Russian relations the existence of the Russian ethnical element in the Ukraine is no less important than the numerous Ukrainian diaspora in the R.S.F.S.R. and in the Central Asiatic Soviet Republics.